the older men, meets with little response. After everybody has had a helping there may be a brief pause before the next round is begun. Beverage increases in frequency and the pauses shorten as the degree of consumption progresses. In the space between rounds, both sexes smoke many cigarettes and indulge in conversation, the nature of which quickly becomes unrestrained. After generally outnumber women at drinking parties, although in the mixed settlement the whole family drinks, even five year old children being presented here and there. In general the Indian quickly shows the effects of alcohol.

Nobody is ever severely criticized for being drunk nor are there severe guilt feelings on the following day, unless under circumstances behavior occurred which the individual has cause to regret. Drunken behavior includes recklessness, quarrelling, physical aggression, singing, joking, depression, and expressions of heightened sensality. Sometimes a form of behavior occurs in which violent aggression is coupled with complete breakdown of motiled control. We will return to this behavior later, and here discuss the more common manifestations of intoxication.

Recklessness during intoxication is illustrated by the incident of a number of boys, ranging from seventeen to twenty-one, stealing a white man's car. They blew a tire, burnt out the battery, and finally ran the vehicle into a ditch where it was abandoned. People complain that in the absence still of women, recklessness may be held to be concentrated persons. As older men, however, generally remain aware of this danger. Thus one Chinese and Old Mike are the necessary for keeping order while everybody was drinking. It was very cold and he feared that if everyone became unconscious the fire would go out and the people, particularly the children, freeze while they slept without blankets. He also warned Louis Mike, upon the latter's arrival, not to get drunk before tying the dogs and putting them inside for the night. [illegible]

Quarrelling frequently occurs in the course of drinking parties but only two instances of murder under such conditions could be recalled for a period of about fifty years. Sometimes [illegible] rising to the surface during intoxication is quickly forgotten once the individual recovers. [illegible] Sometimes there is a tendency to play down and forget all the unpleasant incidents that occurred in the course of drinking and refer solely to the "fun" that was had.

While the Kaska tend to avoid sexual allusions in conversation when sober, especially in the presence of women, in drinkdown such references are readily forthcoming and the strongest obscenities in the most suggestive jokes freely uttered. Drinking is also accompanied by weakening control of direct sexual behavior and young men are often eager to solicitate verbally. The sexually stimulating effect of alcohol is recognized by the Indians although men attribute this effect to themselves, they believe it wrong for girls and women to drink. Intoxicated women get "too crazy," they say.

Drinkers are tolerant to and their immoderate and when one hand of beer or wine has been exhausted eagerly inquire into the whereabouts of another. Usually this entails kids and men end up purchasing money the beverage whether or women and bad women. Only rarely does a woman like Mrs. Mike put with a few bottles of the beverage for use in recuperating from the effects of hangover. Mrs. Mike's tendency is known, however, and men, after finishing a bottle of beer quickly beg her permission to use the bottles under.

Pedicure. Apart from Chinese persons mentioned to children by the mistreating, the [illegible]

76.2 Suicide. All evidence agrees that unexplained suicide is very rare in Eudo society. On the other hand, observers and commentators agree that attempted suicide by men is of far greater occurrence and very likely to appear during menopause. There is a general pattern for such attempted self-destruction. In the two cases of the men observed during field work, the weapon selected was a rifle. As he brandishes the weapon the would-be suicide an moment his intention to an emotional audience. This becomes the signal for onlookers to block the door. One or more men leap forward to wrest the gun from the crestfallen ex-wife's possession and toss it out of sight. The would-be victim is now usually emotionally overwhelmed by his behavior. This pattern is illustrated by Louis Vilas's behavior during menopause.* Several times during the afternoon Louis had manifested aggressive remarks toward, crying, "I don't want it! I'm killed. I don't want my life." After several hours of such emotional outbursts interspersed with quarreling and aggressive remarks he disappeared. He went to his large rifle rack and disappeared in his cellar. Old Vilas threw himself on the gun and as the two were grappled for the weapon, Louis succeeded in firing one wild shot. John Vilas and the videographer ran to the room and together wrenched the gun from the drunken man. John fired the shells in the chamber and Old Vilas tossed the gun half way [illegible] the outlook. No punishment in other Eudo societies is reserved for attempted suicides. The individual is considered sick in the future, while sometimes he is revoked [illegible] for repeat his attempt.

76.3 Dying. The recognized signs of death are scarcely noticeable breathing, a grasping for breath, and a faltering weak pulse rate. When these actions cease completely and the movement of the heart can no longer be felt, the individual is considered dead. As soon as signs of impending death are noticed, it is customary to summon relatives and friends, who may attempt any mechanism or ceremony which suggests itself to cause life. Attention is also focused on the departing person's last words, which are apt to be remembered for some time. When death is believed to have taken place, one of the relatives feels the patient's pulse or heart. If these are absent, the news is circulated to other members of the household or community. The second day of the deceased comes from any but the most esteemed people and begins to weep. Friends of the deceased will try to comfort them and bring them out of the depression. "When people feel bad," Old Vilas said, "we try to make them strong." Mourning for death always appears genuine and painful, but others observed that one member took an uncontrollable emotional outburst.

76.4 Immediately after the fact of death has been established, new friends or distant relatives, who not of the same sex as the deceased and who may belong to the same moiety, wash the corpse with warm water from head to foot. The body is prepared in clothing as new and as attractive as possible and is finally wrapped in a length of cotton cloth or other material from or the family bag. Away from Lower Pine this is apt to be a cotton print material especially purchased for making shrouds. The cloth is laid out on the ground and the body placed lengthwise upon it. Two by the legs stretched diagonally straight, the cloth folded across the midsection. Pieces overlap is allowed to extend beyond the head. The edges of the material are brought over the body, pulled tight and passed with safety pins. The corpse

* For a description and analysis of Old and Young's suicide attempt on Menopause and Menopause Study Night in Indian Pines Community Center, see [illegible]

[illegible]

and grief. A number of other women are well known for the case with which alcohol [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

Upper Liard

[illegible]

665 [illegible]

641 [illegible]

[illegible] [illegible]

[illegible] [illegible]

667 [illegible]

[illegible] [illegible]

[illegible] [illegible]

[illegible] [illegible]

6: Honigmann E-5 (1943-1945)1954 ND12 Nahane ND12
Upper Liard

clear at this point whether the informant meant to describe an ideal or manifest pattern. The murderer's escape from the area brought about an at least temporary halt in proceedings. Instead of seeking retaliation the family of the slain man might, through a kindly disposed headman, press for the adoption of the murderer in place of the victim. This may have occurred when the two were both young and of about the same age. The murderer's family always put pressure upon its member to accede to such a request. He then grew up as the son in the other family, and appropriate kinship terms defined his position (X). No punishment existed for attempted suicide. Cannibalism, a practice apparently regarded as habit-forming, earned banishment and, as a further consequence, death by starvation. People were dissuaded from sorcery by the logical argument that the deed would result in insanity. Interpersonal punishment for sorcery was not sanctioned by informants. Similar magical retaliation followed incest, but public opinion dealt very harshly with those members of the community who committed incestuous offenses. Overwhelmed by shame and guilt in such circumstances, an unhappy man might cast off his pants or leap into the fire. Most grievous of all was incest between brother and sister.

A brother wanted his married sister but couldn't get her. He went one day to hunt beaver with the girl's husband. This man had a premonition that he was going to be attacked and the sister dreamed of her brother assaulting her husband. The brother succeeded in wounding his brother-in-law after which he returned to the dwelling with a beaver. The girl refused to see the man until her husband would return. When he didn't come back soon, she started out to look for him. He found his wife wounded at the beaver house. After reviving his wounds she asked him to tell her brother, which he did.

An unwed mother felt ashamed when she brought forth a child. Sometimes, especially in summer, the community further punished the offense by forcing the girl into a month's exile, during which she whitened mainly by clubbing porcupines. People invoked the punishment to teach her some and prevent repetition of such behavior. If they knew the baby's father, pressure might be placed on him to marry the mother. Such a marriage would not long endure, it was believed, because a girl who became impregnated outside of marriage was too wild to make a good wife. The lover might also give a small gift to the girl's father, thus acknowledging his offense. An illegitimate baby was fairly well cared if it survived the mother's banishment.* People resorted to sorcery, however, and in later years a man might be taunted with the opprobrious slur ("slave"). Such jeers enabled and sometimes led a man to fight his detractors.

An unfaithful wife and her paramour clearly shared in the condemnation of adultery. Generally, direct punishment fell on the women alone. In the presence of an economy that forced men to leave their wives in camp while they hunted, plenty of opportunity for adultery existed. Chronic jealousy and suspicion haunted husbands. Returning to camp some men closely inspected the spruce brush in the dwelling. Should they find it "tipped over" or spent, evidence of the woman's unfaithfulness was presumed. Punishment for adultery consisted in beating the guilty wife or divorcing her, with resultant

* Among the Tlingit the killing of an illegitimate baby by stuffing its mouth with moss or grass had magical representations. It signified "very bad luck will follow the family, or clan." Jones, *Study of the Tlingits of Alaska* (1914), 49.

7: Honigmann E-5 (1943-1945) 1947
ND12 Nahane ND12

gauged from the fact that between 1908 and 1910 the anthropologist James A. Teit was helping both the Kaska and Tahltan fight the Registered Trap-Line Act of British Columbia. The Indians strongly defended their right to trap anywhere without being limited to fixed trap lines. Their case, however, was lost. According to white informants interviewed at Lower Post, a few Indians about this time also manifested direct hostility to white men and the mysterious disappearance of one white trapper is said to have provoked investigation of some Indians.*

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In 1924 the Kaska became rather widely known because of the persistent reports of witch killings that emanated from their area. In that year the body of a young Indian, Moccasin, was found in a slough thirty miles below Lower Post. The condition of the corpse suggesting murder, the matter was reported to the Royal Canadian Mounted Police who in May of the same year arrived at Lower Post, found the body, and made several arrests. The report of this positive detachment written by the Superintendent of the British Columbia Provincial Police follows.

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THE LOWER RIVER MURDER

Last spring the Department of Indian Affairs received word that a young northern Indian had been ruthlessly murdered by his fellow-villagers. To avoid unnecessary duplication of work and expense, Colonel R. S. Knight, Royal Canadian Mounted Police, commanding the British Columbia District, kindly arranged to have this and other matters investigated by a patrol he was sending in to the British Columbia—Yukon boundary.

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In May, 1924, Inspector Sandys-Winsch, with two Royal Canadian Mounted Police Constables, reached Fort Liard [Lower Post] via Wrangell, Alaska, and within a few days not only found the remains of Atsi, or Moccasin, a young Indian boy who had been brutally tied up and left on the ice to die, but succeeded in arresting Dan Louis,* Jimmy Louis, Chief Louis, Big Alec, and a woman named Edie for their share in the affair. These nomadic Indians—Nahanees of Dead stock—firmly believe in magic and witchcraft, and it is because he was suspected of this practice that Atsi was cruelly done to death. The whole conduct of this investigation reflects great credit upon the officers concerned, particularly when it is remembered that the natives are singularly uncommunicative when questioned on the subject of their tribal belief.

Inspector Sandys-Winsch, Royal Canadian Mounted Police, brought his prisoners out and they are now awaiting trial.*

All five Indians were tried at Prince Rupert in August 1925. Big Alec was sentenced to five years' imprisonment and the woman, a sister of the Louis brothers, received a ten years' suspended sentence. The three Louis brothers were discharged. Evidence presented at the trial suggested that

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* See also Dawson, 1887, p. 6.

* The family name is pronounced Lowie and is so spelled in the lower canon rolls for Canada [illegible]. * British Columbia, 1925, p. 114. See also Canada, 1926, pp. 18-19, 24.

• 682 "the maiming of human beings, including children, has been commonly practised amongst the Indians in the northern portion of this province . . . ."[8]

787 In June 1926 another patrol under Inspector Sandys-Wunsch assisted by Sergeant J. R. Paton was sent to Lower Post. With the party was Father E. Allard, O.M.I., en route to begin his missionary work among the Kaska. This party was cordially received by the Indians.

All without exception were glad to see us return. The Lost family evidently bear us no malice. I must say that their stay in Vancouver [?] has done them no harm; they all were much cleaner both with regard to clothes and themselves, and present a marked contrast to the other Indians who have never been out of Liard.[9]

679 757 The report of this detachment also contains a reference to witch killings that were believed to have occurred in 1920:

A case which came under Inspector Wunsch's notice was the alleged murder half a dozen years ago of two Indian children near Porter's Landing on Dease Lake. They were orphans, the age of the older being variously stated at 10 and 14, and the younger being 5. In 1920 they went to the woods for the winter with a party of Indians, and when the party returned in the spring the children were missing, it being stated that they had died of sickness. Later the wife of one of the Indians left him and made statements that the children had been killed, the older one in a very cruel manner, by being tied up by the feet head down in cold weather. No motive was stated but the woman making the assertion said that she had been tied up on suspicion of witchcraft. Inspector Wunsch investigated the matter this summer. Some witnesses are dead, the occurrence conflicted to some extent, the occasion would be difficult to find and identify, the principal actors in the affair are old people . . . so no prosecution has been undertaken.[9]

Writing a year or two later Allard says, "The Upper Liard Indians have the reputation of being addicted to witchcraft. In times of evil or of bad luck they will suspect one or more members of their tribe as the cause of the evil which has befallen them. The suspected individuals are punished and are often done away with."[10]

INFORMANTS' DATA

759 The incidence of witchcraft was explicitly denied for the aboriginal society and a distinction was recognized between a shamka (medicine) and a witch (ndatil). An informant pointed out that there were only a few "Indian doctors" left at the time of the outbreaks. Nevertheless, at least in theory, a witch, like an evil shaman (or sorcerer, nate) also operated on a person's wind but the exact means by which the malevolent influence was transmitted could not be recalled.

679 758 The recorded history indicates that witch-hunting occurred among the Kaska at least as far back as 1920. From informants' data it is possible to en-

[8] Gazette, 1926, p. 24.
[9] Gazette, 1927, pp. 39-40.
[10] Gazette, 1927, p. 42.
[11] Allard, 1928, p. 26.